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UNESCO's MacBride Commission Report and the Editorial Reactions of Four Major Communications Trade Publications

DeForrest Jackson

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by DeForrest Jackson entitled "UNESCO's MacBride Commission Report and the Editorial Reactions of Four Major Communications Trade Publications." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Communication.

Paul G. Ashdown, Major Professor

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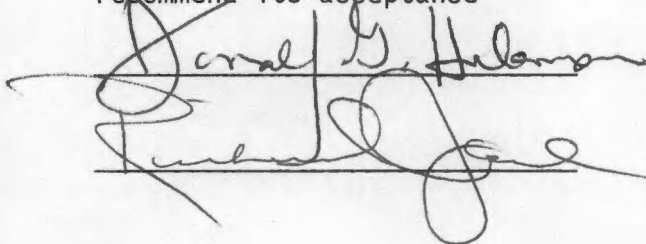
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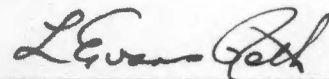
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Paul G. Ashdown, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance



Accepted for the Council:


Vice Chancellor
Graduate Studies and Research

UNESCO'S MACBRIDE COMMISSION REPORT AND THE
EDITORIAL REACTIONS OF FOUR MAJOR
COMMUNICATIONS TRADE PUBLICATIONS

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

DeForrest Jackson

December 1982

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ABSTRACT

This analysis examines the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (CIC), known popularly as the MacBride Commission, and compares reactions of four major communications journals to the Commission's report.

The Commission was convened by the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1977. Its report was presented in October, 1980 at UNESCO's 21st general conference held in Belgrade.

The United States journals studied are: Editor and Publisher, Advertising Age, Public Relations Journal and Broadcasting.

It was hypothesized the news and editorial coverage of all four journals would (1) narrowly reflect primarily the specific ways the report might affect that particular medium or function in the United States; (2) tend to ignore the major worldwide issues; and (3) react in similar ways.

Issues of the four journals were examined for the twenty-four month period from October 1979 to October 1981 and bracketing the October 1980 presentation of the report in Belgrade. Thus the reactions of the four journals were considered for twelve months before and twelve months after the report was discussed at the UNESCO general conference.

The analysis indicates the publications (1) were generally hostile to the report and (2) viewed the Commission's work primarily as a threat to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, and (3) expressed little interest in, or awareness of, the worldwide communications

problems discussed by the MacBride Commission.

Three of the major journals--Editor and Publisher, Advertising Age and Broadcasting--confirmed the specific hypotheses. The fourth journal, Public Relations Journal, did not discuss the MacBride Commission in its 1979-1980 issues.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It took man 50 million years to progress from the beginnings of language to writing; man moved from the first sight-sound media to the modern computer in less than fifty years (Schramm, 1979, p. 202-206).

During the period 1600-1950, the communications patterns around Planet Earth remained about the same. The literate read printed newspapers and journals, but most of the world's population depended on ancient modes of communication--word of mouth, drums, ethnographics or flags at sea.

In recent decades man has achieved new technologies so the world can experience instantaneous, almost universal, communication of events or messages. Meanwhile, a similar explosion of cultural and political tradition has taken place in what is now called the Third World. Thus, mankind has seen a technological and psychological explosion unheard of in history. Peoples moving out of primitive worlds now view village television broadcasts via satellite at the same time they learn to read. The need for communication policies in developing countries has emerged along with plans for education, agriculture, industrial planning, etc.

Communications critic Herbert Schiller sees this "explosion" period as a time of historic redistribution of power and influence (1971, p. 4):

The new age is defined by a massive shift in the global distribution of power points. More than matching the

recession of European authority, once exercised internationally, has been the upsurge of American industrial strength. Alongside this sweeping power transfer have occurred two other significant developments. One is the extension of the state-directed sector from the isolation of its initial, quarantined Soviet base to a position that embraces half of Europe and much of Asia...

There is also the transition of a good portion of the rest of the world from a shift of formal total subordination, colonialism, to a condition of political independence and national sovereignty...the membership of the United Nations, reflecting these changes, has doubled since its founding in 1945. Independence notwithstanding, the frontiers, the human and material resources and the social structures of the new nations continue to reflect their colonial experience and past servitude.

In 1978, Sean MacBride wrote in the international communications and cultural magazine Convergence (p. 108-109) that many member states of the United Nations, particularly the non-aligned group of countries, were most concerned over the problems, deficiencies and imbalances in world communications. Tracing the United Nations' involvement in communications, MacBride stated:

The situation at the international level, as well as in many countries, produces an imbalance and inequality in the exercise of the right to intercommunication and mutual exchange of information and ideas. This, moreover, favours the dominating political, economic or cultural influence of certain countries, tends to maintain the dependence of developing countries and limits the actual participation of individuals and the masses in daily life and in the democratic management of society. Over the past several years, there has been a sharpening awareness of these disparities and inequalities in the realm of information and communication, both on an international level--notably between industrialized and developing countries--as well as on the national level between regions, collectives and social groups.

Developing nations also are concerned about the "invasion" of national sovereignty made possible by the new communications technologies. Historically, print publications have been kept out by

national boundaries. Radio and television have been censored or restricted by the need for local broadcast units.

Now, satellites make it possible for the owners of satellites to broadcast directly--without a local broadcast station--into towns and villages and homes of people everywhere. Developing nations, especially, are concerned about the "host country's" right to censor or approve such messages. This is a major undercurrent in MacBride Commission recommendations.

Until now, there has been no need for regulation of print around the world, so the models for international regulatory cooperation for the new media are electronic and technical in nature. sputnik. No world organization (with a broad-based membership), excepting the United Nations, exists for discussion of international communications issues.

Its founders agreed that one objective for the United Nations was to guarantee and foster freedom and the free flow of information. This principle is proclaimed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights where the United Nations charter states the right to freedom of opinion and expression includes "freedom to hold opinions, without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The governments endorsing UNESCO's constitution believed "in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge..." The rights to communicate have continued to be defined through UNESCO's Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation (1966) which states that "broad dissemina-

tion of ideas and knowledge, based on the freest exchange and discussion, is essential to creative activity, the pursuit of truth and the development of the personality." In 1978, UNESCO adopted the Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Constitution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights, and to Countering Racism, Apartheid and Incitement to War which states that "the exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms is a vital factor in the strengthening of peace and international understanding" (Many Voices One World, 1980, pp. 35-36).

During the 1960s UNESCO began publishing materials about the role of cultural communications, especially reacting to the needs of developing countries. This helped sponsor some explorations in uses of new technologies, including the Satellite International Television Experiment (SITE) in India where community television sets received broadcasts direct from satellites (Chander and Karmik, 1976, pp. 3-18).

Theberge believed the communications interest evolved ten years ago when UNESCO authorized its director-general, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, to assist member states "in the formulation of their mass communications policies... Once Third World countries voiced their concern over the international flow of information, it did not take long for the Communist bloc to offer a solution." In 1972 the Soviets proposed a "Draft Declaration on the Use of the Mass Media" to the 1972 UNESCO general conference. Many feel this declaration proposed state control of the press (1981, p. 716). The declaration

was never passed but a series of debates on communications issues began resulting in M'Bow's 1977 appointment of the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (CIC), known popularly as the MacBride Commission. The Commission's chairman was Irish diplomat Sean MacBride, who earlier was a recipient of both the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes.

The MacBride Commission report was presented to a general conference of UNESCO in Belgrade in October, 1980. Published as a 300-page book under the title Many Voices One World, the report has produced additional communications discussions in the United States and around the world. While viewed as controversial by much of the communications community in the United States, the report encourages further study of communications issues and technologies. The Commission made 83 recommendations, many of which identified issues and proposed further study rather than specific actions.

Some of these issues will be resolved in the marketplace of the world; others may need innovative cooperation and voluntary regulation of new technologies and data bases around the world.

There are no models for regulation of the press but international organizations like the satellite cooperatives have existed with considerable success for electronic communications.

The traditional lines between the media already are blurring. New electronic systems like videolux means the "press" will become more electronic. Future communication systems may demand international attention and cooperation that traditions and current leadership of the American press have not heretofore encountered.

Hypotheses

As the first study of contemporary, international communications issues by an international body--beyond scholarly, professional or technical groups--it is appropriate to consider the UNESCO MacBride Commission report (CIC) and the reaction of the four major communications trade publications in the United States.

It is hypothesized the four journals will reflect primarily the specific ways the report might affect that function--press, advertising, broadcasting, public relations--in the United States and as viewed primarily from the economic system of the United States.

The publications all include some international news or issues, but it is further hypothesized these major journals will tend to ignore the major worldwide issues of the UNESCO MacBride Commission.

The four publications represent separate businesses within the communications sphere, but it is hypothesized the journals will react to the UNESCO report in similar ways.

UNESCO as an Emerging Worldwide Forum

UNESCO is a specialized agency of the United Nations entrusted by its charter to work for a "free flow of information, the spread of education and general cultural exchange." Since 1968, UNESCO has participated in the five sessions of the Working Group established by the UN General Assembly in 1968 to study direct broadcasting from satellites. Since 1967, UNESCO has considered the potentials of space communications as part of their responsibility for coordinating information, education, and cultural development all over the world. Their space broadcasting surveys have demon-

strated to developing nations the economic necessities of economic cooperation by neighboring nations (Queeney, 1978, pp. 29-33).

In 1972, UNESCO cooperated with the International Telecommunications Union study of a regional satellite system for education, and cultural development in African countries south of the Sahara (Queeney, 1978, p. 29-33).

In the fall of 1972, UNESCO presented its Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange.

Queeney, (p. 117), described the Declaration as an "amalgam of diverse influences that fastened the ambitions of UNESCO for a leadership role in direct broadcast satellites."

In 1975-76, UNESCO sponsored the important Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) in India. This pioneering project continues to be especially significant to developing countries because it demonstrates transmissions of television by satellite to community receivers in a culture where individual or home TV sets are not affordable. India offered, via UNESCO, to share with the international community its experience with new technology and village audiences' (UNESCO, no. 78, 1976, pp. 3, 9-14).

During a number of debates in the UN General Assembly, one complication of new technologies and worldwide communications issues became manifest. Some countries demanded "prior consent" of national sovereignty as a way to regulate satellite broadcasts. Others felt prior clearance of message by a receiving or "host" country was a form of censorship.

These discussions sometimes questioned UNESCO's legal authority

in broadcast activities, since the Outer Space Committee of the United Nations was viewed by some as being the responsible agent for all space activity (Queeney, 1978, pp. 117-131).

Meanwhile, Intelsat developed as a satellite "cooperative" for more than 100 countries, and it can be presumed that early educational efforts of UNESCO helped prepare these disparate cultures for the cooperative Intelsat investments in space technology.

These early UNESCO communications activities led to broader discussions of communications issues and evolved into the establishment of its International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The 16-person group began work in December, 1977. Its final report was published in 1980 under the title, "Many Voices One World."

The president of the Media Institute, Leonard J. Theberge (1981, p. 714) discussed the origins of the MacBride Commission and the debates about regulation of worldwide communications:

Behind those widely divergent points of view lies the murky rhetoric of international politics and, between the so-called North-South groups of nations, disagreement in their approaches to news values and news needs. The...debate raised the question whether developing countries would benefit from the freedom the news media enjoy in the United States.

Some United States critics insist UNESCO has become a "tool" of the Soviets and/or developing countries (Matthews, p. 18 and Los Angeles Times, February 19, 1981, 11-6-1-E). While the commission undoubtedly has been used as a vehicle for propaganda by Western, Russian bloc and Third World countries, the

commission has provided a vehicle for discussion of the implications of new communication technologies. Sean MacBride described the importance of these early discussions in his 1978 article in the international journal, Convergence (p. 108):

The establishment of this International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems resulted from the debates of UNESCO's activities in the field of communications at the 1976 session of its General Conference in Nairobi. This arose from the increasing concern expressed in recent years of many member states, particularly the non-aligned group of countries, over existing problems, deficiencies and imbalances in the world of communications today.

Theberge (1981, p. 714) also believes the MacBride Commission results from political and economic forces which have developed along with new technologies:

A new world information order has been evolving slowly at UNESCO's biennial conferences in the past decade. UNESCO was established to foster international understanding, promote peace, and overcome poverty and illiteracy through educational, scientific and cultural activities. But as the United Nations has increased in size and changed politically, so has UNESCO. Today it is an international forum in which Third World nations air grievances, develop political objectives and lobby for the international acceptance of their goals.

Some Western spokesmen agree the United Nations should foster worldwide discussion concerning the free flow of information but contend Russia has used UNESCO as a vehicle to attack the West. For example, Leonard S. Matthews, president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, Inc., wrote in the June 15, 1981 issue of Business Week (p. 18):

For many years the basic position of the UN on freedom of speech was embodied in article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in 1948. It endorsed the right to receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Then, as now, the freedoms endorsed in this resolution remain denied to many and imperiled for others throughout the world.

Since 1948 the Soviets and others on the far left and right have tried to undermine the absolute principle of that resolution (Article 19 of the UN Charter) by injecting the UN into further studies and definitions of these concepts.

Matthews (p. 18) describes the creation of the MacBride Commission as "the most recent instrument of this new menace" by the Soviets.

In his American Bar Journal article, Theberge (1981, p. 716) suggests that UNESCO has been trying to make news control a subject for an international agenda for more than ten years. He believes when UNESCO authorized its director-general, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, to assist member states in the "formulation of their mass communications policies, little attention was paid." Theberge suggests that the Communists moved on this situation as soon as Third World countries "expressed concern over the international flow of information." The Soviets are credited with the Draft Declaration on the Use of Mass Media for the 1972 general conference of UNESCO. Theberge (1981, p. 711) believes this document "tacitly supported state control of the media" and "for the first time in an international body the press was being discussed as a 'tool' of the state instead of an independent institution." Apparently, this was viewed as mere rhetoric by Western countries and "scant attention was paid to the first signs of a potential storm."

This lack of attention continued by First World Nations, so the main objectives of the draft declaration went unchallenged at the 1974 UNESCO General Conference--Western delegates had walked out of the conference as a protest against anti-Israeli language in "an increasingly politicized environment" of UNESCO (Theberge, 1981, p. 716). The United States responded by cutting off funds to UNESCO.

In his foreword (UNESCO, 1980, p. XIII) to Many Voices One World, M'Bow explains,

The General Conference in Nairobi in 1976 instructed me to undertake a review of all the problems of communications in contemporary society seen against the background of technological progress and recent developments in international relations with due regard to their complexity and magnitude. I therefore deemed it advisable, in undertaking this task, to set up a 'brains trust' composed of highly competent, prominent figures from various backgrounds, and I accordingly established the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems, under the presidency of Mr. Sean MacBride.

By the time of the 1976 General Conference, United States funding had been restored. To produce a less political form of discussion and report, Director-General M'Bow appointed the MacBride Commission to recommend ways for reaching a global consensus on treatment of the international flow of information. Their very broad mandate was "to study the totality of communication problems in modern societies." (MacBride, 1980, p. XVIII).

The United States delegate to the MacBride Commission, Elie Abel, is described by Leonard Matthews in Business Week as "an educator and former journalist who is often critical of advertising" but the "one unbiased person who, as a delegate to the Belgrade Conference, filed a strenuous objection." (June 15, 1981, pp. 18-19). Abel, formerly dean of the School of Journalism at Columbia University after a longtime career as journalist and network commentator, is now Harry and Norman Chandler professor of communication at Stanford University (Schneider, 1980, p. 11).

In a series of footnotes throughout the CIC report (UNESCO, 1980), Abel is quoted--either as a protest or for clarification-- a number of

times. For example, Abel says on page 100:

Our world contains a bewildering variety of working models for the ownership and control of communications systems. These range in their diversity from systems in which the state owns and controls all channels of communications to those in which the state is debarred by the Constitution from interfering in the flow of information, with an infinite variety of models filling the spectrum between the two extremes. It is not the task of the Commission to confer its blessings upon any particular model.

MacBride (1980, p. XVII) described his own feelings about the assignment:

My feelings then, at the outset of our long journey in the world of communications, were a mixture of excitement and trepidation: excitement at the opportunity to preside over a sixteen-member group from all corners of the globe in the exploration of a subject so basic to peace and human development; trepidation because of the vast range of topics and the crucial nature of the problems to be studied."

MacBride (1980, p. XVII) also acknowledges the problems of politics, rhetoric and basic misunderstanding.

In the 1970's international debates on communications issues have stridently reached points of confrontation in many areas. Third World protests against the dominant flow of news from the industrialized countries were often construed as attacks on the free flow of information. Defenders of journalistic freedom were labelled intruders on national sovereignty. Varying concepts of news values and the role, rights and responsibilities of journalists were widely contended, as was the potential contribution of the mass media to the solution of major world problems.

MacBride (1980, pp. XIX-XX) believes the Commission "reached what I consider a surprising measure of agreement on major issues, upon which opinions heretofore had seemed irreconcilable." He (1980, p. XVIII) describes the final report as "a consensus of how the Commission sees the present communications order and foresees a new one. When there are differences these are reflected by way of comment or dissent." (In the 275 pages of the basic report Elie

Abel made ten comments or dissents, suggesting Abel is part of this consensus--excepting where he notes dissent or clarification.)

Both M'Bow and Sean MacBride are sometimes presented as villains by the American press. For example, Leonard Matthews (Business Week, June 15, 1981, p. 18) suggests a screenplay for a "Hollywood blockbuster" with a "mysterious villain named Mr. M'Bow from Senegal," who has the objective of "attacking the fundamental principle of freedom of speech" and is supported "by a conspiracy between the Soviet bloc and Third World nations." A Los Angeles Times editorial (Feb. 19, 1981, p. 11-6-1-E) sees the report as "nothing less than a scheme to impose censorship on the Western press" and describes MacBride as one "urging that journalists visiting Third World nations pledge to accept the government's version of events."

Research Plan

This study is based on an analysis of four trade publications. Each is the major journal for its professional business areas of contemporary communications--the press, the advertising business, the broadcasting (radio and television industry and public relations in the United States.

Sampling of Publications. The MacBride Commission report was presented to a UNESCO general conference in Belgrade in October 1980. A preliminary draft was available in March 1980.

To examine attitudes of the four major publications--before and after the Belgrade conference--the 24 month period of October 1979 to October 1981 was chosen for analysis.

Editor and Publisher was also studied for the 1978-79 period because its UNESCO interests were intense and long-term.

Editor and Publisher, Advertising Age and Broadcasting are weekly publications. Public Relations Journal is a monthly. The number of issues examined was:

<u>Journal</u>	<u>Issues from October 1979 to October 1981</u>
<u>Editor and Publisher</u>	104
<u>Advertising Age</u>	100
<u>Public Relations Journal</u>	22
<u>Broadcasting</u>	102

Analysis Method. Each issue was read and noted page by page for each article or mention about UNESCO, MacBride Commission or the international flow of news. Each page of designated articles was duplicated and coded according to news story, editorial, page or column, signed column or "other."

1. International. A sampling of five to six issues of each major publication was analyzed to determine the magazine's coverage of international news or issues. These "international" articles were compared quantitatively to the total number of major or indexed articles for that issue.

2. Substance of the Story. A total of 63 articles in three of the magazines (a fourth had no mention of the MacBride Commission at all) in this 24 month period had information on the subject. Each article was studied and overall evaluation made about advocacy, tone and apparent origins or sources for the stories.

3. Hypotheses. This general analysis of each publication as well as the total reaction of the four publications was compared to the hypotheses of this study.

CHAPTER II

EXISTING MODELS FOR WORLDWIDE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS

The recommendations of the MacBride Commission suggest voluntary, cooperative, worldwide policies for emerging communications and information systems.

The nations of the world have engaged in voluntary cooperation and regulation of electronic media for more than a hundred years. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU), headquartered in Geneva, is now an agency of the United Nations. It had its roots in an organization founded in 1865 by Napoleon III, who saw the need for cooperative handling of telegraph traffic on an international scale (Cohen, 1980, p. 71). In recent decades the United Nations has become involved in the technological and cultural issues of communications media and the MacBride Commission and its report is an outgrowth of these involvements. Pertinent organizations involved with the voluntary regulation and management of international communications media to be discussed include:

- (1) International Telecommunications Union (ITU)
- (2) World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC)
- (3) Intersputnik
- (4) ComSat
- (5) Intelsat

ITU, WARC, and Intelsat all operate with considerable success as international "cooperatives" based on individual and group self-interest.

International Telecommunications Union (ITU)

Since 1865 this organization has been responsible for worldwide

coordination of technical rules and standards for all electrical communications. The ITU became a specialized agency of the United Nations in 1949.

The ITU functions to (1)register and allocate radio frequencies to avoid interference between stations located in different countries as well as to use the frequency spectrum efficiently, (2)promote the development of telecommunications technology and foster participation by developing countries through United Nations programs and (3)make studies and hold conferences to foster regulations and publish telecommunications information for ITU members.

ITU began studies of space communications as early as 1959. During the early 1960s, developing countries began to express concern about being left out of this allocation of frequencies for satellite communications (Queeney, 1978, p. 26-29.)

The World Administrative Radio Conference, sponsored in recent times by the ITU, addressed the issues of frequency bands for space communications in 1963, and regulations have evolved along with space technology through ITU as a governing or coordinating body (Queeney, 1978, p. 28-29).

World Administrative Radio Conference

The most recent versions of the World Administrative Radio Conference met in 1959 and 1979. Traditionally, this group meets about every 20 years and represents a regulatory process more than a hundred years old. The International Telegraph Union was founded in Paris in 1865 for the purpose of regulating telegraph usage. Its authority later encompassed international coordination of radio.

The first joint radio-telegraph conference met in Madrid in 1932 and evolved into the International Telecommunications Union. The ITU, now a specialized agency of the UN, has sponsored a number of radio spectrum conferences, including these WARCS.

Historically, these conferences have been "technical" and the participants have been "technical" rather than diplomatic, military or political. Before WARC 1959, the meetings were dominated by representatives of the technically advanced nations so as to "facilitate their dominance of worldwide communications." (Fore, 1979, p. 408-409).

A WARC 1979 participant--a representative of the Consumers Union who was one of the few "public interest" members of the U.S. delegation--said the U.S. representatives were "primarily technicians who did not understand the broad social and cultural context of such a conference and were incapable of dealing with Third World delegates, except with suspicion, distrust, antagonism or condescension." (Fore, 1980, p. 439).

There were delegates from 147 countries at WARC 1979. Since each nation had one vote, about two-thirds of the total votes belonged to developing nations; however, the U.S., according to Fore (1979, p. 498), is "now practically the only holder in the family of nations for the 'open skies' policy of unrestricted access by any nation to any other--for a very simple reason: for the foreseeable future, we will possess de facto dominance of satellite broadcasting, from launching capability and satellite hardware to the actual programs and the advertising."

Aviation Week and Space Technology (December 17, 1979) reports

that U.S. participants "were pleased to see that difficult spectrum allocations issues generally were resolved on their technical merit rather than on bloc voting."

None of the participating nations in the WARC is required to abide by the results or the voting so, the enormously complex web of rules and regulations governing the use of the electromagnetic spectrum hangs by the delicate threads of self-interest, mutual needs and interdependence.

Over a long period of time this international body seems to have adjusted well to changing technology and shifting political and nationalistic situations. It "regulates" in an effective way. (Aviation Week and Space Technology, December 17, 1979).

Intersputnik

This organization is based on the universality principle-- outer space is open to exploration and use by all states, without discrimination. This principle was determined by resolution of the United Nations General Assembly and the Treaty of January 27, 1967 on the "Principles Governing the Activities of States in Exploration and Use of Outer Space."

Intersputnik was set up in 1971 by nine socialist countries-- Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Czechoslovakia. The government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam joined in 1979.

The objectives of Intersputnik are to ensure (1) requirements for telephone and telegraph communication, (2) exchanges of radio

and telegraph and television programs, and (3) transmission of other types of information via satellites. The organization stresses cooperation, mutual assistance and mutual advantage. The space complex is the property of the organization or is leased from its members; earth-based stations belong to the state which built them or the organization operating them.

Members of Intersputnik can belong to other space communication organizations. Earth-based stations have been constructed in the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba (1973); Mongolia (1967); Czechoslovakia and Poland (1974); the GDR (1975); Hungary and Bulgaria (1976) and Algeria (1979). Stations were under construction (1980) in Vietnam, Laos and Afghanistan and planned for Angola, Ethiopia, Iraq and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. For the Summer Olympic Games in 1980, eight Intersputnik broadband channels were available for broadcasting around the world (Many Voices One World, 1981, p. 289-290).

ComSat

The Communications Satellite Corporation was created as a private corporation and chartered by the U.S. Congress in 1962. Awarded a monopoly for international commercial public telecommunications by satellite for United States users, a hybrid corporation emerged, owned half by major U.S. overseas communications companies and half by the public at large (Snow, 1980, p. 147).

The corporate stock is owned by A.T.T., I.T.T., RCA, Western Union and over 100 smaller companies. The "public" bought the other fifty percent through the New York Stock Exchange. ComSat concentrates on international communications (Mitchell, 1978, p. 16).

Intelsat

Intelsat is an "operating organization" that leaves its satellites and facilities to each member nation's designated representatives. In the U.S., this designated representative is ComSat, but elsewhere the representation can become complicated. For example, "Korea is in a group...that includes Iran, Pakistan and Turkey. Japan is by itself; so is Australia. There is an Asia Pacific group (India, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and Sri Lanka) and a Southeast Asia group (Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand.)" (Media Asia, 1978, p. 16).

This organization was created in 1964. Its purpose is to create and manage satellites for international commercial public communication. Some countries feel the original Intelsat treaties favored the United States (which controlled most of the technology then). But voting takes place on investment shares and the U.S. entity has declined from 50 percent in the early years to 20-30 percent in recent years.

Unlike the U.S. pattern where public regulatory commissions regulate private firms, Intelsat regulates itself. It is a "co-operative of owners and users." Each country pays a fee based on its "units of utilization." The organization operates financially with the rate of return of the investors balanced against fees charged as users--each country is both an investor and a user (Snow, 1980, p. 149).

The number of countries fluctuates, but 102 countries signed the 1977 papers of permanent organization. Intelsat is not a "household name" because the organization deliberately has maintained a

low profile, but it seems to be very successful against its goal of providing technological and economically commercial satellite communications for the more than 100 countries who are users (Snow, 1980, p. 155).

CHAPTER III

THREE VIEWS ABOUT COMMUNICATIONS ISSUES

Developing Countries and the MacBride Report

Since World War II the world's attention often has been directed at activities of First World nations and the Soviet bloc. International news has focused on the "Cold War" between East and West with an occasional spotlight on the Middle East or military actions like the war in Nigeria-Biafra or Pakistan or the Falklands.

During this 35-year period, many Third World nations have moved from post-colonial independence toward self-government while wrestling with major local problems such as literacy, pluralistic cultures and poverty. These nations also have worked toward industrialization, modern organizational techniques, new technologies, and the use of mass media communications.

Today, Third World nations often differ among themselves, but most do agree that the international flow of information is inadequate in reporting their progress. They feel the Western control of worldwide communications systems and technologies is a major obstacle to development of national unity. Another complaint about the Western press is their failure to cover the progress of nations in improving education, family planning, agriculture and industrialization. Western journalists are accused of reporting only sensational and negative news--political instability, human rights violations, natural disasters and corruption. Third World leaders believe this incomplete and/or distorted and/or incorrect image prevents unity and respect within their own countries. This reporting "impairs trade and other economic relations." (Theberge,

1981, p. 715).

The Third World believes this international press system to be an agent of "cultural imperialism." The four Western news agencies--UPI, AP, Reuters, Agence France-Presse--circulate 85 percent of the international news. According to this Third World debate, the "gatekeepers" of the agencies select news in terms of Western attitudes and interests as a part of "selling" the news as a commodity while imposing "alien perspectives on Third World affairs." (Theberge, 1981, p. 715).

According to Many Voices One World (1980, p. 146-146), the major news agencies "only devote somewhere between 10 and 30 percent of their news to the totality of the developing world."

The developing nations complain about the imbalance in the circulation of information and the dominance of the major transnational agencies both in the collection and dissemination of news. The MacBride report (1980, p. 59) comments:

Among the news agencies there are five--Agence France-Presse (France), Associated Press (USA), Reuters (UK), Tass (USSR), and United Press International (USA)--which have a particularly wide international role due to the size and technological strength of their systems of collecting news and distributing it in many languages all over the world. Each has offices in more than a hundred countries, and employs thousands of full-time staff and part-time correspondents. They collect millions of words. Each issues news twenty-four hours a day to thousands of national agencies, subscribing newspapers, radio and television organizations in over a hundred countries. All have regular services, usually daily in Arabic, English, French, German, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish; some also provide their services in other languages.

Many Voices One World (1980, p. 145) discusses this controversy about news agencies and observes "their massive worldwide operations give them a near monopoly in the international dissemination of news;

thus the world receives some 80 percent of its news through London, Paris and New York."

Third World countries also are concerned about new communications technology and access to data bases.

Today, general policy of the Western industrialized nations encourages "marketplace" control and development of emerging technology. Because these countries developed and "own" most of the hardware, their position in use of the technology is secure. Other countries--especially the developing nations--are concerned about their current needs and future access to new media and systems.

The question of access to information is critical to the "haves" and the "have-nots." Some people look at the emerging world of media and technology and believe some kind of "regulation" or "world information order" is needed. In the early 1970s this issue moved to the United Nations as the only available platform for global discussion (if not as the regulatory body). Communications commentator Ithiel de Sola Pool writes, "One of the vexations of underdevelopment is that it is all of a piece...all the problems come together. Progress cannot be made on one front at a time; it requires what Mao called a 'great leap' and what Walt Rostow called a 'take-off' on all fronts at once." (1979, p. 149-150). As Pool (1979, p. 149) describes the problem:

It would be distressing enough if the only problem in underdeveloped countries were that people were poor. But along with that, life is short, medical care is inadequate, most people are lacking in education, security is poor, governments are corrupt and inefficient, progressive political movements are not well organized, technological competence and entrepreneurial motivation are scarce...The situation, in short, is not one to make simplifiers happy.

Communications media availability depends on certain socio-economic conditions. Literacy is the most obvious condition for print media. Fagen (1964, p. 87-90) contends a healthy economy is necessary because newspapers, even when published as government organs, are seldom given away (sound tracks, community radio and traveling government cinema may be free of cost to the individual citizen).

Satellite broadcast, which does not require a local broadcasting station, may be important in developing countries. Community TV sets can be used for health and nutrition as well as agriculture techniques to farmers. In 1976, the United Nations helped fund the Satellite International Television Experiment (SITE) in India where satellites were used to televise to community TV sets in 400 Indian villages. India has shared knowledge from this experiment with other countries (Chander and Karmik, 1976, p. 3-18).

Today more than a hundred countries have lower-cost access to satellites through the cooperative called Intelsat. Marcellus Snow suggests Intelsat as a possible model--it proved a catalyst for the development of both national and regional satellite systems that may not compete with Intelsat itself (1980, p. 147). Snow believes the "response of the nations of the world to technologies having commercial, political or military potential has been characterized by competition rather than cooperation. Late imposition of international agreements or organizations has served to modify or alternate that competition to mutual advantage rather than to eliminate it." He suggests the quiet but effective twenty years of cooperation matrixed by Intelsat might be transferable to other communications issues.

Developing countries believe cheap access to telecommunications systems is essential for their futures (Pool, 1979, p. 145-146). The Third World has used the MacBride Commission as a forum to declare their needs and appeal for cooperative policies and vehicles for global systems.

A Soviet View

The Soviets feel (1)their system provides a press operated by and for the people and (2)the so-called free press in the "free world" is owned and operated by a small number of "chains" and trans-national corporations who manufacture and control new communication technology. These Western corporations, in the Soviet view, operate in self-interest rather than further the good of the people, and have no real national alliances.

Our attitude is just the opposite.

People in the United States generally feel (1)freedom of the press is "alive and well" in this country, (2)"truth" is an objective and product of this system, and (3)communication in the Soviet Union is restricted propaganda with the "truth" manipulated and censored by bureaucratic puppets of the Soviet government.

The Soviets consider U.S. attitudes about freedom of information as carefully contrived propaganda. The United States generally views Soviet attitudes as carefully contrived propaganda.

The MacBride Commission acted as a forum and sifter of these divergent views. Both the United States and the Soviet Union approved the MacBride Commission report, excepting dissents carefully noted in

the report. Each country considered the report a success in diluting objectional views of the other while contributing plans or programs or delays which increased the value of the report and made possible the UNESCO consensus (Power, 1981, p. 143, and Zassoursky and Losev, 1981, pp. 118-121).

The Soviets proclaim themselves aggressive proponents of a free flow of information. They signed Article 19 of the original 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; the right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

In 1972 the Soviets' views on international communication emerged in its Draft Declaration on the Use of the Mass Media. This document supported state control of the press. Theberge (1981, p. 716) notes, "For the first time in an international body the press was being discussed as a 'tool' of the state instead of as an independent institution." He reports, "Scant attention was paid in the West to the first signs of a potential storm." In the 1974 UNESCO general conference a number of Western delegates walked out of the conference in a protest about some anti-Israeli language that had been incorporated, so the main objectives of the Soviet draft declaration were not challenged. (Later, the United States responded to this situation by cutting off funds to the United Nations.) In 1976, the Soviet Draft was postponed, and Director-General M'Bow introduced the MacBride Commission as another way to discuss and reach consensus on the issues of "international mutual understanding and the eradication of

racism, apartheid, and incitement to war." (Zassoursky and Losev, 1981. p.118).

Sergei Losev, director-general of Tass and a member of the MacBride Commission, cooperated with Yassen Zassoursky, Dean and Professor of the Faculty of Journalism at Moscow State University, in a Soviet analysis of the MacBride Commission report. Published in Pravda, on May 5, 1980, this article claims the MacBride report "represents a serious contribution to the cause of placing information in the service of peace and progress." They describe the commission's work as a process of gathering a "vast amount of material on the state of affairs in the mass media in different regions of the world" followed by a discussion on "problems of the development of television, radio broadcasting and the press." Their analysis spotlighted these issues or recommendations of the MacBride report and sometimes comment on the United States from the Soviet view.(pp. 118-121):

(1) MacBride Commission on the role and orientation of journalists:
 "The interpretation of international events occurring in various countries in a situation of crisis and tension requires exceptional prudence and responsibility."

Zassoursky/Losev comment: Today one must constantly remind oneself of these words when one reads the reports of Western agencies about events in Afghanistan or in Iran, in El Salvador and in the Near East. In an atmosphere of sharp conflict the bourgeois mass media are creating a situation of tension and military hysteria, and provoke, in essence, aggressive actions against the force of progress. These actions, which contradict the UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, show the unwillingness of the owners of the information-propaganda complex to heed the voice of international public opinion...

(2) MacBride Commission discusses the issue of free flow of information versus the right of a "host nation" to advance approval or screen-

ing of information broadcast by other nations or individuals.

Zassoursky/Losev comment: "The Report is centered on the problem of rebuilding international relations in the field of information on the basis of respect for national sovereignty in information and culture, liberation of the developing countries from spiritual imperialism, and the development of national mass media. The Commission outlined an important method to combat the dominance by Western information agencies and television companies of the mass media of developing countries. It recommended the formation of national information agencies, and regional and national radio and motion picture documentary production centers.

(3) MacBride Commission criticized the process of monopolization and concentration of journalism in Western countries.

Zassoursky/Losev comment: "The Report contains convincing facts which show that the press, radio and television in countries of the so-called 'free world' belong to a small number of newspaper, magazine, radio and television corporations. In the U.S., for instance, 2036 newspapers were published in 1923, of which 153 belong to corporations, by 1976; however, the number of newspapers fell to 1765, but 1061 of them were now owned by the so-called 'newspaper chains.' The activities of transnational corporations are an extreme example of the subordination of journalism to the interest of monopolies. Fifteen of them have taken into their own hands the manufacture of equipment for the production, transmission, and reception of radio and television programs and the use of electronics in the newspaper and magazine business.

The monopoly domination very acutely raises the question of the place of the journalist in the mass media system, of his responsibility to society rather than to the owner. In the section of the Commission's Report entitled 'Responsibilities of the Journalist,' it is stated that 'for a journalist, freedom and responsibility cannot be separated.' It is especially important to realize a feeling of responsibility to their own nation for employees of the press of countries freed from colonial dominance.

(4) The MacBride Commission criticized the use of journalists for intelligence activities.

Zassoursky/Losev comment: As is known, the U.S. uses American journalists for espionage purposes, especially in developing countries. Speaking in April of 1980 at the yearly session of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, former CIA Director S. Turner admitted

that U.S. special services continue to carry out plans of widespread recruiting of correspondents, despite the disclosure of espionage activities of over four hundred American journalists.

In summary, Zassoursky and Losev believe the MacBride Commission report "represents a serious contribution to the cause of placing information in the service of peace and progress."

The Talloires Declaration

Members of Western nation's press--before and following publication of the MacBride report--have held large meetings to discuss the report and UNESCO's efforts toward worldwide forums on communications issues.

Newspaper publishers from 33 Western countries first met in Tel Aviv on May 26, 1980. This predated the October presentation of the UNESCO report to the general conference in Belgrade in October, 1980. Allen H. Neuharth, president of the Gannett newspaper chain and chairman of the executive committee of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, said, "The first thing that we must do is give the alarm" while listing a number of CIC conclusions which he considered "in opposition to the concept of freedom of the press." On May 29, 1980, the American Newspaper Publishers Association advised UNESCO Director-General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow "that while the association will cooperate with UNESCO to foster the achievement of common goals, it will continue to oppose actions which appear to undermine world press freedoms and journalistic standards" (Editor and Publisher, June 7, 1980).

In May, 1981 a meeting took place in Talloires, France. Seventy-five journalists and editors from 24 countries attended what was titled a conference of the World Press Freedom Committee. Called a "historic

meeting" by Julius B. Humi in Editor and Publisher (May 23, 1981, p. 9), the group called for an end to "UNESCO attempts to regulate the flow of news and pledged concerted action to uphold press freedom around the world." Director-General M'Bow met with the delegates and defended the UNESCO position and the recommendations of the report.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT OF THE MACBRIDE COMMISSION REPORT

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems made public its report in March 1980 and presented the report at UNESCO's general conference in Belgrade in October 1980.

The report is titled Many Voices One World. The publishers are the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Paris; Kogan Page Ltd., London; and Unipub, New York.

Published in hardback, the report itself is 275 pages long with an additional 25 pages of appendices. These appendices include some "General Comments" of clarifying statements by Commission members from Tunisia, Chile, Colombia and USSR; definitions of communication and information; communications models; histories of Intelsat and Inter-sputnik; lists of international organizations active in communication; a description of the Commission's history, mandate, membership and activities; and a list of pertinent documents used in the Commission's studies.

Many Voices One World (page 295) defines the ommission's mandate as a "study of all communication problems in present-day society." The Commission believes its task originated in general policy debates during the 1976 general conference of UNESCO in Nairobi where there was a "great emphasis on fundamental issues between peoples and nations" and a draft declaration on the "fundamental principles governing the use of mass media in strengthening peace and international understanding and in combatting war propaganda, racialism and apartheid." After lengthy debate it was "generally agreed that UNESCO should undertake a review of the problems of communication in modern society" (p. 295). In accordance with these

directions, the Director-General of UNESCO appointed the 16-man MacBride Commission, and he also defined its mandate.

The members of the commission are from sixteen different countries. Three-fourths of them are described professionally as "journalists." The president of the Commission, Sean MacBride, is from Ireland, and his credentials (p. 295-296) are described as "journalist, barrister, and politician, President of the International Peace Bureau, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, founding member of Amnesty International, United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, holder of the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes." The other fifteen members are listed (p. 295-296) as:

Elie Abel (U.S.A.), journalist, and broadcaster, Harry and Norman Chandler Professor of Communication, Stanford University.

Hubert Beuve-Mery (France), journalist, founder of the newspaper Le Monde, president of the Centre de formation et de perfectionnement des journalistes, Paris.

Elebe Ma Ekonzo (Zaire), journalist, Director of National Press, Director-General of Agence Zaire-Presse.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia), journalist and author.

Sergei Losev (U.S.S.R.), Director-General of TASS News Agency.

Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia), journalist, President of the Press Foundation of Asia.

Mustapha Masmoudi (Tunisia), Permanent Delegate of Tunisia to UNESCO, formerly Secretary of State for Information, President of the Intergovernmental Coordinating Council for Information of the Non-Aligned Countries.

Michio Nagai (Japan), journalist and sociologist, former Minister of Education, editorialist of the newspaper Assahi Shimbun.

Fred Isaac Akporuaro Omu (Nigeria), Research Professor, University of Benin, previously Commissioner for Information, Social Development and Sport, Bendel State.

Bogdan Osolnik (Yugoslavia), journalist, politician, member of the National Assembly.

Gamal El Oteifi (Egypt), former Minister for Information and Culture, honorary professor, Cairo University, journalist, lawyer and legal adviser.

Johannes Pieter Pronk (Netherlands), economist and politician.

Juan Somavia (Chile), Executive Director, Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales (Mexico City).

Boobli George Verghese (India), journalist and Gandhi Peace Foundation Fellow.

Betty Zimmerman (Canada), broadcaster, Director, Radio Canada International.

The Commission was assisted during the course of its work by a small Secretariat of UNESCO staff members. The Executive Secretary was Asher Deleon.

The Commission met for eight sessions between December 1977 and November 1979 and a total of 42 days. They convened four times in Paris and once each in Sweden, Yugoslavia, India and Mexico. They also "participated in numerous conferences, meetings, seminars and discussion groups organized by international organizations and professional associations and various regional and national institutions." In its activities the Commission enjoyed "full intellectual autonomy in carrying out its mandate" and "complete freedom in the organization and execution of its works and in establishing the contents of its Report." (p. 296).

The titling section of the report points out "the opinions expressed in this work are those of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems or, where indicated, of one of its members and are not necessarily those of UNESCO." Throughout the report individual members of the Commission were allowed to indicate dissent or clarification in personal footnote commentaries in each section.

Excepting the footnoted dissents and the clarifications by four members under the "General Comments" appendix, the report is described

and intended as a "consensus" of the commission members. Director-General M'Bow describes the work as the "process of collective thinking thus initiated (p. xiv). Sean MacBride summarizes the work as the "Commission's collective vision of the communication scene ... based on a virtually worldwide survey of opinions, both individual and institutional, and a mountain of documentation from many sources." The resulting distillation, MacBride concludes, is a "consensus of how the Commission sees the present communication order and foresees a new one." (p. xix - xx). Excepting his footnoted dissents and his appended "General Comments," Russia's Sergei Losev agrees that he, too, "joined the consensus of the Commission in signing the Final Report." (p. 279).

The report is divided into four parts.

The first part is titled "Communication and Society" and discusses the historical, contemporary and international dimensions of communication. One section identifies international communications issues, tracks some of the debates and proposes that UNESCO is and should be a forum open to all the world (p. 1-43).

Part II is titled "Communication Today" and first lists means of communications from signs and words through mass media and satellites, discusses infrastructures from libraries through data banks and then identifies changing patterns through new technologies, concentration of ownerships and disparities of the "haves and have nots." (p. 47-136).

Part III covers "Problems and Issues of Common Concern," including flaws in communication flows (one-way flow, vertical flow and market dominances); problems in communication contents (distortion, cultural alienations, external influences); barriers to the democratization of communication; critical images of the world (war and disarmament, hunger

and poverty, gaps between North-South and the East-West interface, violations of human rights, equal rights for women); and the concepts of public, national and world opinion (p. 137-202).

Part IV is titled "The Institutional and Professional Framework" and summarizes the Commission's study of communication policies, resources and research trends and needs. This section also discusses the training and professionalism of communicators, the rights and access problems of journalists, the codes of professional ethics and the right of reply and right of correction (p. 203-252). The controversial comments about licensing and regulations of journalists are discussed both pro and con and the report proposes studying these issues, especially as they concern the "protection" of journalists--but does not recommend any specific actions. Some United States press stories are concerned with these issues entirely and suggest that the MacBride report is an agent for invasion of these traditional journalistic rights (Matthews, 1981, p. 18 and Los Angeles Times, Feb 19, 1981, p. 11-6-1-E and Jan 13, 1981, p. II-4-1-E).

Part V contains the Commission's conclusions and 82 recommendations (p. 253-275) under the overall title of "Communication Tomorrow."

The conclusions of the MacBride Commission predict an expansion of communication that "promises great opportunities but also raises anxieties and uncertainties." They recommend that each society choose its own way, but they believe "everything will depend on the use made of the new resources." (p. 253). Main conclusions of the Commission are summarized (p. 253-254) as :

1. There will be a variety of solutions to communication issues but all must demand a better, more just and democratic social

order based on fundamental human rights and free, open and balanced communications. ("The whole human race is threatened by the arms race and by the persistence of unacceptable global inequalities.")

2. Imbalances and disparities in communication and its structures need to be eliminated and developing countries need to reduce their dependence and "claim a new, more just and equitable order in the field of communication. This issue has been fully debated in various settings; the time has now come to move from principles to substantive reforms and concrete action."

3. Freedom of information--and, more specifically, the right to seek, receive and impart information--is a fundamental human right.

4. "It is essential to develop comprehensive national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives" according to the condition, needs and traditions of each country.

5. A new information and communication order is seen as an "on-going" process of change in the nature of relations between and within nations in the field of communications. The decisions should involve professionals, researchers and scholars, those holding economic and political power and "social participation at all levels." The Commission believes "this calls for new attitudes for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways."

The Commission hopes for "reflection and actions" by governments and international organizations, researchers, communications practitioners, organized social groups and the public at large (p. 254).

Briefly summarized, the 82 recommendations detailed are (p. 254-272):

1. Communication Policy. All nations--particularly developing countries--must formulate comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals. There should be broad public participation.

2. Languages. Developing nations and multilingual societies need to evolve language policies that promote all languages even while selecting some, where necessary, for more wide-spread use in communication, higher education and administration.

Some widely spoken languages need to be adapted, prepared and modernized for new systems of language learning. Simultaneous interpretation and automated translation for cross-cultural communication should be envisaged to bridge linguistic barriers.

3. Education. Elementary education should be available to all. Illiteracy should be wiped out. Systems should educate and enrich through distance learning via radio, television, correspondence.

4. Priorities. Each country will have to work out its own priorities within the framework of national development policies.

5. Communication Systems. Developing countries should develop the essential elements of their own communication systems.

6. News Agencies. Regional news networks and national newspapers should be set up.

7. Books. National production and distribution systems should be encouraged for books, newspapers and periodicals. (National authors in various languages should be promoted.)

8. Radio. Comprehensive national radio networks reaching remote areas should be developed. (TV also, but radio is given a first priority.)

9. Production. National and regional broadcast production is necessary to decrease dependence on external sources.

10. Training. Neighboring countries and regions should co-operate in the training of media and production management and personnel.

11. Financing. Communication components in developing countries should be financed along with agriculture, health and family planning, education, religion, industry et al.

12. Networks. Basic postal services and small rural telecommunications exchanges are essential.

13. Community Press. In rural areas and small towns a community press would provide print support and literature for neo-literates.

14. Community Development. Radio and low-cost video systems can promote local, diversified cultural expression.

15. Uses. Education systems should prepare young people for communication activities. Communication systems should educate, inform and entertain.

16. Groups. Community listening and viewing groups could widen both entertainment and educational opportunities.
17. Aggregation. Local communication resource centers should be aggregated and supported by decentralized media production centers.
18. Source of Funds. Communication programs could be financed via larger burdens on more prosperous urban and elite groups or through taxing of commercial advertising.
19. Paper Shortage. Research and development should be undertaken to relieve the worldwide paper shortage. Recycling and new sources should be supported.
20. Tariffs and Research. Transmission of news and information is handicapped by telecommunications tariffs which should not be reviewed against larger national goals. UNESCO might sponsor with INTELSAT and Intersputnik a study of satellite transmission. Developing countries also should investigate preferential tariffs on a bilateral or regional basis.
21. Spectrum Resource. The electro-magnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit should be shared as the common property of mankind. The special conferences proposed by WARC are welcomed.
22. Dialogue. Policy for development policies should result from dialogue by (a) decision-makers toward different social sectors; (b) among and between diverse social sectors in a horizontal network; and (c) between decision-makers and all social groups through permanent two-way flow mechanisms.
23. Non-technical language. Promotion of developmental policies should use non-technical language and comprehensible symbols and images which ensure popular understanding of issues and goals.
24. Technological Research. Both positive and negative social implications of new technology should be evaluated.
25. National Discussions of Technology. New communications technology should be discussed through national mechanisms and decisions made under public scrutiny.
26. Obsolescence. Technology for basic projects and programs in developing countries should be researched to avoid obsolescence and non-availability of equipment in spare parts or components from advanced industrial nations.

27. Monopoly. National and international measures are required to counteract the virtual monopoly situations held by a few developed countries and transnational corporations.
28. Cultural Identity. National cultural policies should foster cultural identity and creativity and media should be involved. Knowledge of other cultures should be promoted.
29. Cultural Creativity. Policies should ensure that creative artists and grass-roots groups be presented by media--different cultures should be studied via innovative use of film, television and radio.
30. Advertising. Guidelines with respect to advertising content and values and attitudes fostered should be introduced to preserve cultural identity, especially among children and adolescents. Complaint boards or consumer review committees might be established as a way to react to inappropriate advertising.
31. Non-commercial Media. In expanding communications systems non-commercial forms should be given preference and should be integrated with the traditions, culture, development objectives and socio-political system of each country.
32. Negative Effects. Ways and means should be considered to reduce negative effects of market and commercial considerations have on international communication flows.
33. Media Funding. Consideration should be given to changing existing funding of commercial mass media via modification of advertising volume, contributions, subsidies, taxes and enhance the social function of mass media and their service to the community.
34. Technical Information. Developing countries should (a) correlate educational, scientific and communications policies, (b) create data centers, (c) secure data processing equipment and (d) develop skills and facilities for computer processing and analysis.
35. Exchange. Developed countries should foster exchanges of technical information on the principle that all countries have equal rights to full access to available information. Cooperative arrangements should be developed.
36. Policies. Developing countries should adopt informatics policy as a priority.

37. International level. Action should include (a) identification of existing organized data processing infrastructures, (b) agreement on multi-country participation in program and planning of data infrastructures, (c) analysis of measures likely to improve informatics by developing countries, (d) agreement on international research and development priorities for all countries interested in informatics.

38. Transnationals. Upon request and as a regular basis as specified by local regulation all transnational corporations should provide information required for legislation and administrative purposes. The public, trade unions and all other sectors should be provided information about the global structure, activities and policies of the transnational corporation and their significance for the country concerned.

39. Journalistic Professionalism. Journalists should be regarded and treated as professionals. Journalism needs to raise its standards and quality in order to be recognized as a genuine profession.

40. Training. Specific professional training should be developed national and regionally for journalists--programs for entry-level recruits as well as special seminars and conferences for experienced personnel.

41. Integrity. News media and journalist organizations should foster such values as truthfulness, accuracy and respect for human rights. A distinction may have to be drawn between media institutions, owners and managers on the one hand and journalists on the other.

42. Accountability. Journalists and media organizations serve the public, and the public is entitled to hold them accountable via media councils, press ombudsmen, community boards, etc.

43. Ethical Codes. The adopting codes of professional ethics for journalists should be adopted, provided codes are provided by the profession itself--without governmental interference.

44. Correspondents. All countries should assure admittance of foreign correspondents and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference should be honored. (The 1975 Conference discussed the major issues from a military/ political standpoint in light of inter-European, and international cooperation and journalists are expected to spread its message of peace, cooperation and international understanding.)

45. Bias. Conventional standards of news selection, reporting and news values need to be reassessed. Higher professional standards are needed for journalists to illuminate the diverse cultures and beliefs of the modern world.
46. Reporter Training. Reporters assigned to foreign posts should have training in the languages, history, institutions, politics, economics and cultural environment of the country or region they will be serving.
47. Background. Press and broadcasters in the industrialized world should allot more time and space to both the background and news of foreign countries. "Gatekeepers" should become more familiar with cultures and conditions in developing countries.
48. Right of Reply. To offset the negative effects of inaccurate or malicious reporting, the right of reply and correction should be further considered.
49. Espionage. The use of journalists recruited to espionage under cover of professional duties should be condemned.
50. Protection. The professional independence and integrity of all involved in the collection and dissemination of news should be safeguarded, but the Commission does not propose special privileges to journalists.
51. Protection Problems. UNESCO should convene a series of roundtables to review periodically problems related to protection of journalists.
52. Democratization. All mass media people and professional organizations should contribute to the fulfillment of human rights, individual and collective in the spirit of the UNESCO Declaration on the Mass Media of 1978 and the Helsinki Final Act and the International Bill of Human Rights.
53. Freedom. The media should promote the just cause of people struggling for freedom and independence and their right to live in peace and equality without foreign interference.
54. A New Right. In a democratic society the communication needs should be met by the extension of specific rights--the right to be informed, to inform, to privacy, to participate in public communication--all elements of a new concept, the right to communicate.
55. Sources of Information. Countries should adopt mea-

ures to enlarge sources of information needed by citizens in their everyday life.

56. Censorship. Arbitrary control of information should be abolished.

57. Media Ownership. Special attention should be devoted to obstacles and restrictions deriving from concentration of media ownership, public or private, from commercial or advertising influences. The problem of financial conditions under which the media operate should be critically reviewed and measures elaborated on to strengthen editorial independence.

58. Obstacles. Legal measures should be designed to (a) limit the process of monopolization and concentration, (b) circumscribe the action of transnationals by criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and developmental policies, (c) reduce trends to reduce the number of decision-makers, (d) reduce advertising influence upon editorial and broadcast programming, (e) seek and improve models concerning the management and editorial policy of the media (whether under public, private or government ownership).

59. Information Needs. Infrastructures and technologies should be matched to the need for more abundant information to a broader public from a plurality of sources.

60. Women's Needs. Women should be allowed access to communications needs and images of them and their activities not distorted by media or advertising.

61. Special Groups. Larger, sensitive groups of society have special communications needs. Deserving careful considerations are children and youth, national, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities, people living in remote areas, the aged and the handicapped.

62. Integration. The media should help integrate people in living and working environments rather than isolate them.

63. Active Roles. More print space and broadcast time should be allocated for the views of individuals or organized social groups for a more active--rather than passive--role of participation in communications.

64. Involvement. Communication facilities involving the public in funding and managing are recommended.

65. Management Democratization. Communications policy-makers should devise ways to democratize--while respecting a nation's customs and characteristics--the media management and editorial policy by associations of journalists, professional communicators, creative artists, technicians, media owners and managers and the public.

66. World Order. National and international measures--including proposals of the MacBride Report--should be fostered toward a new world information and communication order.

67. Priority. International cooperation should fund and give equal priority to communication along with health, agriculture, industry, science, education, etc.

68. UN and Others. The United Nations and other technical bodies should carefully consider the close relationship between a new international economic order and the new world information and communication order. Communications should be seen as an integral element in international developmental strategy and not merely an instrument of public information.

69. Collective Self-reliance. The communications dimension should be incorporated into developing countries' programs and agreements for economic cooperation.

70. Joint Activities. Developing countries should cooperate to develop national news agencies and news pools, as well as a general exchange of radio and TV programming and film.

71. Technical Cooperation. Regional and sub-regional data banks, information processing centers and specialized documentation centers should be established with a high priority.

72. Sharing. Mechanisms for sharing non-strategic information should receive more attention and space in the media and ensure a steady flow of information which meet developing countries' needs.

74. Links. Agreements and links between professional associations and communication researchers of different countries should be fostered.

75. UNESCO and Communications. Member states should support the organizations of a communication sector in UNESCO, not simply to underline the importance of communication but to emphasize the interrelationship of communication with education, science and culture.

76. Coordination. A thorough inventory and assessment should be undertaken, if all communications programs of various United Nations agencies are to design mechanisms for consultation, coordination and cooperation.
77. UN System. It would be desirable for the United Nations family to be equipped with an information system including its own broadcast and access to a satellite system.
78. International Centre. A study should be undertaken for consideration of an International Centre for the Study and Planning of Information and Communication within UNESCO.
79. International Understanding. National communication policies should be consistent with adopted international principles and should seek to create a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among nations.
80. Peace. Mass media and curricula of journalism schools should pay due attention to problems of peace and disarmament, human rights, development and creation of a new communication order.
81. Other Cultures. All forms of media/professionals/association cooperation which contribute to better knowledge of other nations and cultures should be encouraged and promoted.
82. Crisis Reporting. Reporting on international events or developments in individual countries in situations of crisis and tension requires extreme care and responsibility. Often the media is one of the few, if not the sole, links between combatants or hostile groups.

The recommendations "do not presume to cover all topics and issues," but the Commission feels the study "indicates clearly the direction in which the world must move to attain a new information communication order." The order, primarily, is a series of new relationships heavily dependent on and evolving from, new technologies (p. 272).

While all members signed the report, some dissented on recommendations--or details of a recommendation--by a footnote in the report.

For example, Betty Zimmerman (Canada) does not support Recommendation 78 concerning an International Centre, and Elie Abel (United States) thinks the proposal is "premature, unnecessary and unwise" (p. 271).

An addendum titled "Issues Requiring Further Study " listed (1) increased interdependence, (2) improved coordination, (3) international standards and instruments, (4) collection and dissemination of news, (5) protection of journalists, (6) neglected areas, and (7) financial resources for communication development (pp. 273-275).

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF FOUR MAJOR COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY TRADE PUBLICATIONS AND THEIR REACTION TO THE MACBRIDE REPORT

The analysis of four major United States publications of October 1979 to October 1981 produced the following information about articles concerning UNESCO, UNESCO's MacBride Commission or the CIC report:

QUANTITY OF ARTICLES

	<u>Number of Issues</u>	<u>Number of MacBride Articles</u>
<u>Editor & Publisher</u>	104	48
<u>Advertising Age</u>	100	4
<u>P.R. Journal</u>	22	0
<u>Broadcasting</u>	102	11

CATEGORIES OF CONTENT

	<u>Editorials</u>	<u>By-lined Editorials and Columns</u>	<u>News</u>	<u>Other</u>
<u>Editor & Publisher</u>	11	6	30	1
<u>Advertising Age</u>	1	1	2	0
<u>P.R. Journal</u>	0	0	0	0
<u>Broadcasting</u>	11	0	10	1

In this 24-month period, Editor and Publisher gave intense and constant editorial and news coverage to the UNESCO commission. Ad Age and Broadcasting ran a few news stories but Broadcasting did not treat the Commission or its report on the magazine's editorial page. Public Relations Journal did not mention or discuss the MacBride Commission or its report in any way whatsoever.

Response of Editor and Publisher

This weekly magazine ran 48 UNESCO/MacBride articles in the 104 issues published during the twenty-four months between October 1979 and October 1981.

Editor and Publisher, subtitled "The Fourth Estate," is published every Saturday by Editor and Publisher Company, New York, New York. The magazine also describes itself as "The Oldest Publisher's and Advertiser's Newspaper in America" and "The Only Independent Weekly Journal of Newspapering." Most issues contain 40-60 pages, but occasional issues will contain 100 or more pages. While physically presented as a magazine, Editor and Publisher is written as a newspaper. It covers both general and specific news of the newspaper/communications industry-- news of industry people, organizations and politics, discussions of new technologies and industry issues. Its display advertising is industry-related and a broad classified section deals in newspapers for sale, equipment, and industry personnel. There is a regular editorial page as well as a signed editorial column titled "Shop Talk at Thirty." The latter is written frequently by Robert V. Brown, president and editor of the magazine.

The majority of the magazine's content is concerned with the United States. In a random sampling of the major stories in six issues of Editor and Publisher, only nine of 96 stories were "international" in content (a major story is defined as two or more columns on a three-column page). Table I on the next page presents a summary of this analysis of Editor and Publisher's content.

TABLE I
INTERNATIONAL CONTENT IN EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Issue	International Stories	Major Stories
August 8, 1981	0 of	13
August 15, 1981	1 of	16
January 9, 1982	3 of	20
January 16, 1982	1 of	20
March 6, 1982	2 of	13
April 24, 1982	2 of	19
Total	9 of	96

The examination of issues of Editor and Publisher for the October 1979-October 1981 period demonstrated a pattern of long-time interest in UNESCO and the MacBride Commission, so issues of the magazine were also examined for an earlier period of 21 months. There was regular coverage of the 1977 UNESCO meeting in Paris and, the magazine's editorial focus on UNESCO communication debates emerged with the draft discussions of the 1976 Nairobi general conference of UNESCO.

Table II on the following pages presents a listing of UNESCO and MacBride Commission stories for this period.

Earlier E & P Comments

Editor and Publisher's attitudes about freedom of the press and UNESCO predate its coverage of the MacBride Commission. For example, a January 1978 editorial is titled "Tricky UNESCO" and suggests "officials of UNESCO have persuaded some people in the developing, or underdeveloped countries, to naively accept the premise that government control of the news and news agencies is synonymous with the free exchange of ideas and knowledge. Nothing could be farther from the truth."

Throughout 1978, the editorial page commented on UNESCO's activities in communications including (1) comments about the 1976 Nairobi meetings (January 28, 1978); (2) the laws in Colombia and the Dominican Republic requiring licensing of journalists (March 11, 1978); (3) the Draft Declaration on Mass Media written for the fall 1978 general conference of UNESCO in Paris (September 23, 1978); (4) the gift of press/

TABLE II

MACBRIDE COMMISSION STORIES IN EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
OCTOBER 1979-OCTOBER 1981

Issue	Category	Title
Oct. 6, 1979	News	"Sean MacBride to Address IAPA"
Oct. 27, 1979	Editorial	"UNESCO Report"
Oct. 27, 1979	By-line News (Lenora Williamson)	"Showdown Looms in 1980 on World Press Freedom"
Nov. 17, 1979	Editorial	"World Communication Order"
Nov. 17, 1979	By-line News (I. William Hill)	"Press Coverage Banned at UNESCO Meeting"
Dec. 8, 1979	News	"UNESCO Commission Study Condemns Censorship"
Dec. 15, 1979	Column (Brown)	"New Information Order and Third World Despots"
Jan. 12, 1980	Column (Brown)	"Soviet 'Non-interference'"
Feb. 2, 1980	By-line News (I. William Hill)	"Media Monopolies Hit in MacBride Report"
Feb. 9, 1980	Column (Brown)	
Feb. 23, 1980	Editorial	"Facts on Foreign Coverage"
Feb. 23, 1980	By-line News (Henry Lee)	"Foreign News Coverage for 13 Nations Analyzed"
Mar. 22, 1980	By-line News (George Beebe)	"Developments Affecting World- wide Press Freedom"
Mar. 22, 1980	Column (Brown)	"News and the Third World"
Apr. 5, 1980	Editorial	"Licensing in the U.S."
Apr. 26, 1980	News	"Publishers Count Vance to Block Third World Moves"
May 3, 1980	Editorial	"UNESCO Reunites Text"
May 17, 1980	Editorial	"The MacBride Report"
May 17, 1980	By-line News (Claude Hippeau)	"300 Attend IPI's General Assembly"
Jun. 7, 1980	News	"Press Groups Denounce UNESCO Plan on Media"
Jun. 28, 1980	News	"Muskie Pledges Press Freedom at UNESCO"
Jul. 5, 1980	By-line News (Robt. L. Stevenson)	"The Western News Agencies Do Not Ignore The Third World"
Jul. 26, 1980	Editorial	"Belgrade Meeting"
Aug. 2, 1980	News	"UNESCO Media Report Cailed Hypocritical"

TABLE II (Continued)

Issue	Category	Title
Aug. 16, 1980	Column (Brown)	"Robin Duke Heads Delegation"
Aug. 30, 1980	News	"MacBride Report in Paperback"
Sep. 27, 1980	Editorial	"Third World Coverage"
Sep. 27, 1980	By-line News (I. William Hill)	"U.S. Delegation Named for UNESCO Congress"
Sep. 27, 1980	News	"Oct. 13 Seen as Start of Press Debates"
Sep. 27, 1980	Reprint from Inter- national Press Institute Newsletter	"Backgrounds to UNESCO General Conference"
Sep. 27, 1980	Column (Brown)	"Third World News"
Oct. 4, 1980	Editorial	"UNESCO Proposals"
Oct. 18, 1980	By-line News (M.L. Stein)	"Abel Assails UNESCO Role in Regulatory News Reports"
Oct. 25, 1980	By-line News (Celeste Huenergard)	"Muskie Seems in the Dark on UNESCO Talks"
Oct. 25, 1980	News	"Commission to be Formed by UNESCO to Watch Media"
Oct. 25, 1980	By-line News (M.L. Stein)	"Belgrade Delegates Work on UNESCO Agreement"
Nov. 1, 1980	Newsbrief	"UNESCO Resolutions Assailed"
Nov. 1, 1980	Editorial	"Political Goals at UNESCO"
Nov. 8, 1980	By-line News (Lawrence Schneider)	"Abel Sets Record Straight on UNESCO"
Nov. 15, 1980	By-line News (M.L. Stein)	"Lack of Support at Belgrade"
Nov. 29, 1980	By-line News (M.L. Stein)	"U.S. Delegation to UNESCO Criticized"
Jan. 10, 1981	By-line News (M.L. Stein)	"UNESCO Defends MacBride Report"
Feb. 21, 1981	Editorial	"UNESCO Secretariat"
Feb. 21, 1981	News	"UNESCO Again Weighs Licensing of Reporters"
Mar. 7, 1981	News	"Licensing Plan Fails to Gain UNESCO Approval"
Mar. 21, 1981	News	"Report Raps U.S. Media Coverage of UNESCO Meeting"
May 23, 1981	By-line News (Julius B. Harris)	"Free News Groups Pledge to Fight UNESCO Curbs"
Jul. 18, 1981	By-line News (George Brandon)	"Reagan Administration Urges Stronger U.S. UNESCO Role"

broadcast equipment to Third World countries by the "press of the free world" (October 21, 1978); (5) a despairing "there seems little hope that the Draft Declaration on Mass Media can ever be rewritten so that it would uphold Western standards of a free press" (November 11, 1978); (6) an editorial about controlling the flow of news in Third World countries (June 20, 1979); (7) a full-page complaint because media people were not invited to the UNESCO meeting in Washington in November 1979 (September 8, 1979); and (8) a comment that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should use his office to promote press freedom in other countries (September 29, 1979).

To study the earlier origins of Editor and Publisher attitudes, all of the 1978 issues and the first nine months of 1979 were considered. Editor and Publisher ran 31 articles in the 21-month period of January 1978 through September 1979. Eight of these articles were editorials; sixteen were news stories; one was the text of a UNESCO declaration; and six were personal columns written by Robert V. Brown, president and editor of the publication. The titles are very descriptive of the advocacy tone and content. Table III on the next page presents a listing of UNESCO and MacBride Commission stories in Editor and Publisher during this time period.

The Editor as Commentator

The president and editor of Editor and Publisher, Robert V. Brown, seems deeply interested in and concerned about UNESCO and the MacBride Commission. During the 24-months of Editor and Publisher issues analyzed, Brown wrote nine by-lined columns about this subject (December 15, 1979; January 12, 1980; February 9, 1980; March 22, 1980; June 7,

TABLE III

MACBRIDE COMMISSION STORIES IN EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
JANUARY 1978-SEPTEMBER 1979

Issue	Category	Title
Jan. 28, 1978	Editorial	"Tricky UNESCO"
Feb. 4, 1978	Column (Brown)	"U.S. Government Absent at UNESCO"
Mar. 11, 1978	Editorial	"Licensing Journalists"
May 6, 1978	News	"Passage of UNESCO Declaration Feared"
Sep. 23, 1978	Editorial	"UNESCO Revision"
Oct. 7, 1978	News	"Attwood Named to UNESCO Group"
Oct. 7, 1978	News	"Western News Coverage of Third World Blasted"
Oct. 14, 1978	By-line News (Jerome H. Walker)	"IAPA Renews its Attack on UN News Control Idea"
Oct. 14, 1978	Column (Brown)	"List of Training and Equipment Materials Given by IAPA to Developing Nations"
Oct. 21, 1978	Editorial	"Chance for Cooperation"
Oct. 21, 1978	Column (Brown)	"Confrontation Provoked"
Nov. 4, 1978	News	"UNESCO Media Debate Underway"
Nov. 11, 1978	Editorial	"No Compromise in Paris"
Nov. 18, 1978	By-line News (Henry Lee)	"Foreign News Coverage in U.S. to be Checked"
Dec. 2, 1978	News	"UNESCO Compromise Calls for Free News Flow"
Dec. 2, 1978	Article	"Text of UNESCO Declaration on a Free Flow of News"
Dec. 2, 1978	Column (Brown)	"Another Soviet Curve Ball"
Dec. 9, 1978	By-line News (John Consoli)	"U.S. Duped Russians at UNESCO Conference"
Dec. 9, 1978	Column (Brown)	"That Soviet Curve Ball"
Feb. 17, 1979	By-line News (Carla Merie Rupp)	"Reporter Briefs U.S. Press in UNESCO Issue" (Rosemary Righter)
May 19, 1979	Column (Brown)	"New World Information Order"
May 26, 1979	News	"Licensing Proposal Rejected at Paris"
Jun. 9, 1979	News	"UNESCO Official Says, 'Free Press Nations Must be More Persuasive'"

TABLE III (Continued)

Issue	Category	Title
Jun. 30, 1979	Editorial	"Flow of the News"
Jun. 30, 1979	News	"News Manipulation Charge is Nonsense: Jerry Long"
Aug. 4, 1979	By-line News (I. William Hill)	"U.S. Battles to Prevent Third World News Control"
Aug. 18, 1979	News	"U.S. to Host Next UNESCO Conference"
Sep. 8, 1979	Editorial	"A Meeting of Experts"
Sep. 22, 1979	By-line News (W.F. Gloede)	"U.S. Newspapers Criticized on United Nations Coverage"
Sep. 22, 1979	News	"Beebe Resigns as Head of World Press Group"
Sep. 29, 1979	Editorial	"The UN and Free Press"

1980; August 16, 1980; September 1980; November 15, 1980). All of the columns are at least half-page in length.

Brown's tone is concerned but statesmanlike and responsible. His writing contrasts with the "call to arms" urgency of George Beebe, Leonard Marks and the editorial page of Editor and Publisher. Brown seems to understand the power networks involved but never suggests the MacBride Commission is a "tool of the Soviets" and does not use the suspicion of some other writers about UNESCO. Brown deals with facts and often makes his point by direct quotes from other spokespersons.

When some of the MacBride papers were released Brown wrote in his column of February 9, 1980: "The mountain labored...and brought forth a mouse. So far that's all that can be said about the highly-touted report of the MacBride Commission to UNESCO. Speeches have been made about what it will contain. Even Chairman MacBride has done that." Brown was dismayed because "apparently the report has been written and rewritten " and "has turned into a monumental global boondoggle." He also reasons, "we do not mean to belittle the challenge of the report. It will be debated at the UNESCO meeting in Belgrade in September." He acknowledges four upcoming regional meetings of UNESCO, and Brown reassures, "We suspect the report will be discussed in all of them."

Brown's message is one of patience. He sees the issues of the MacBride report will be long-term discussions, i.e., "if Soviet-oriented elements in UNESCO do not succeed in writing a document restricting press freedom on an international basis they will just keep trying and those meetings will go on, and on, and on..." In a

November 15, 1980 column written after the Belgrade meeting, Brown wrote, "The United States news coverage of the Belgrade meeting was far from complete and accurate," and concluded:

If the U.S. is going to continue to participate in international meetings such as UNESCO...then we should give it our best shot, go first class and keep in there swinging, to coin a few cliches.

If we can keep the leaders of Third World nations talking about communications developments, they may not do anything foolish and, who knows, they eventually may agree that freedom of the press and otherwise (sic) isn't so bad after all. (sic)

While Editor and Publisher's news and editorial page content often seem anti-UNESCO, the writings of Robert V. Brown, the president and editor, are pro-UNESCO, pro-discussion, pro-reason. On the other hand, Brown as editor schedules regular usage of the World Press Freedom Committee activities and their press releases. These appear on the magazine's editorial page as a "call to arms" about the threat of UNESCO's activities.

World Press Freedom Committee

This organization prompted a third of the news stories in Editor and Publisher during the October 1979-October 1981 period. The WPFC seems to be a "one-issue" organization devoted to their view of freedom of the press. The group has worked to provide a "half million dollars worth" of press and broadcast equipment to Third World countries and provide expertise, conferences and seminars. This organization helped organize and sponsor the conference in France which produced the Declaration of Talloires.

Spokespersons for the World Press Freedom Committee appear frequently in the pages of Editor and Publisher. They include:

(1) George Beebe, associate publisher of the Miami Herald of the Knight-Ridder chain of 36 daily newspapers. This chain has the largest circulation (3,742,000) in the United States and had revenues in 1978 that totaled \$878,875,000, according to Compaine (1979, p. 23 and p. 32). Beebe was scheduled to become president of the Inter-American Press Association in October 1979. He served as chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee until his resignation in September 1979, according to Editor and Publisher, September 22, 1979. He resigned because of his "heavy commitments to the IAPA." According to the major journals, Beebe continued to speak on behalf of WFPC in active opposition to the UNESCO MacBride Commission during 1980 and 1981. (In the February 21, 1981 issue of Editor and Publisher, Beebe is described as "executive director of the World Press Freedom Committee.")

(2) Leonard Marks, a communications attorney in Washington, D.C. and former director of the United States Information Agency and secretary-treasurer/counsel to the World Press Freedom Committee. Marks regularly writes and speaks to professional communications groups as a reporter on the MacBride Commission and its implications to "world press freedom" (Editor and Publisher, Advertising Age, Broadcasting).

(3) Philip Power, a director of World Press Freedom Committee and owner of 42 newspapers in Ohio and Michigan. He has been a witness to U.S. Congressional committees, reporting on UNESCO and the MacBride Commission. His wife is Sarah Power, deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs and a state department spokesperson on the Belgrade UNESCO general conference (Broadcasting,

November, 1980; Advertising Age, December 10, 1980: Broadcasting, July 13, 1981)..

Editor and Publisher referred to the World Press Freedom Committee as a source of commentary in UNESCO and the MacBride Commission in issues of October 27, 1979, March 22, 1980; April 26, 1980; June 28, 1980; September 27, 1980; March 7, 1981; and March 21, 1981.

Beebe, Marks and Power also are major sources for MacBride Commission stories in Broadcasting and Advertising Age.

In a May 6, 1978 issue, Editor and Publisher quotes Marks: "If the proposed UNESCO press controls on international wire services and correspondents is adopted in October, U.S. newspapers would eventually lose access to information throughout the world" and the "trend toward state control will be increased." He said the "declaration stands a very good chance of being passed" and added the United States would then become isolated from the rest of the world.

In the March 22, 1980 issue of Editor and Publisher, George Beebe wrote a two-page by-lined article titled "Developments affecting worldwide press freedom." The opening paragraphs read:

The Inter-American Press Association for nearly 40 years has been the watchdog of the Western Hemisphere's press. Now its most severe challenges come from the global areas of debate.

UNESCO's attempts to establish international standards for the media threaten the whole concept of freedom of the press.

Beebe also warns this is not being done to improve communications but "to control communications. The evidence is overwhelming." He

also acknowledges a working relationship between the two organizations he heads: "I have submitted a report showing that the Inter-American Press Association and the World Press Freedom Committee have been giving a cooperative hand to the media of this region for some time."

When it developed at the Belgrade Conference that the MacBride Commission report did not totally undermine freedom of the press, Beebe became a spokesperson for communications aid to the Third World. In the March 7, 1981 issue he discusses the "very basic needs of Third World media" and adds: "The Third World through years of debates on controversial subjects, has been forced to sit on the sidelines wondering when something concrete will come from the rhetoric. It is time to stop talking and start acting." This suggests the dialogues within and without UNESCO may provide new ways of cooperation between the First and Third Worlds.

Editor and Publisher Commentaries

For several years before the October 1980 Belgrade meeting this magazine felt a strong responsibility for alerting the United States press community and the United States government. Much of its writing seems to have an urgency toward action as well as a way of reporting professional news. It invites applause in a July 26, 1980 editorial:

Maybe that's why it took the State Department so long to wake up to the threat of UNESCO's drive for a "new world information order." It was only through the efforts of media that the State began to assign delegates to some of these meetings. There were some regional sessions several years ago to which the State did not even send observers!

In a November 1, 1980 issue, Editor and Publisher editorializes that the address to UNESCO's Belgrade meeting by Yasir Arafat is "proof

that the high ideals and aims of UNESCO have been distorted for international political consideration and have very little to do with either education, science or culture, let alone communications."

Response of Advertising Age

This weekly publication of the advertising industry has run only four UNESCO/MacBride stories in the total of 100 issues published between October 1979 and October 1981.

Advertising Age is published 50 times per year (weekly except semi-weekly the third week in March and the second week in September) by Crain Publications, Chicago, Illinois. It is a vertical trade journal addressing all levels, talents and specialties of the advertising industry. Most issues contain 100-125 pages and are filled mostly with newspaper-style news stories about clients, agencies, new advertising campaigns, people in advertising and marketing and advertising trade organizations. While Advertising Age reports news of the American Advertising Federation, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and other political/lobbying groups, it generally does not lobby or deal in political, economic or cultural issues. Its style is brisk and straightforward, sometimes aping the creativity and flair of the campaigns and people about whom it reports. Advertising in Ad Age, including a substantial classified section, is trade oriented. A 10-15 page "magazine" section presents in-depth feature articles on a single subject relating to marketing, communications technology or socio-economics.

The publication's sub-title--"The International Newspaper of Marketing"--indicates subject coverage of marketing beyond advertising and geographical interests beyond the United States. The publication actually is mostly concerned with United States firms, news and issues.

The weekly index in the front of the magazine sometimes lists stories under the heading "International," but these stories represent a small minority of the space and articles of an issue. A random sampling of five issues of Ad Age provided the following information about stories listed as "International" as compared to other major stories listed and titled in the Index of that issue (Table IV):

TABLE IV
INTERNATIONAL STORIES IN ADVERTISING AGE

Issue	International Stories	Indexed Stories
Jan. 5, 1981	0 of	9 major stories
April 13, 1981	4 of	17 major stories
June 22, 1981	2 of	22 major stories
July 5, 1982	2 of	19 major stories
July 12, 1982	1 of	21 major stories
Total	9 of	88 major stories

The magazine has displayed no editorial interest in UNESCO or the MacBride Commission report. All of its UNESCO stories are second-party in nature--one is a guest editorial by a member of the board of the World Press Freedom Committee, two are reports of trade organization meetings where the UNESCO report was discussed by a speaker and the fourth is an editorial complaining about the technical handling of UNESCO advertisements in the foreign press. The four stories are as follows:

1. "Threat to Ad Freedom?" by Philip A. Power, Advertising Age, December 15, 1980, p. 44).

This is a guest editorial by a newspaper publisher of 42 newspapers in Michigan and Ohio who has "attended the last three General Conferences of UNESCO and is a member of the board of World Press Freedom Committee. He co-authored a recent article in the New York Times Magazine on the subject of UNESCO and the media."

This one-page, 2000-word article is sub-titled "UNESCO Has Begun a Very Serious Attack on the Advertising Concept." Power urges the advertising industry to "scream like hell" and lists some of the comments and recommendations of the Commission's studies and report. He recommends the United States should stay in UNESCO to "fight, reason, learn, debate. If the last six years provide any guide, one can mitigate, if not block entirely, some of the more dangerous or silly ideas." He adds, "one of the most effective groups has been the World Press Freedom Committee, which since 1972 has been beaver away to blunt assaults on news freedom from UNESCO and to help the Third World countries develop their own news and communications system." He proposes formation of an organization to "challenge UNESCO in the battle for freedom of information" to be called the Council on International Communications and Information and "modeled perhaps on the Council of Foreign Relations." He concludes with a challenge to the advertising industry to "rouse itself so that the sound in response to UNESCO's challenge to advertising freedom is not a deafening silence but a thunderous roar."

2. "World Advertising Attacks Up, ANA Told," Advertising Age, November 16, 1981, p. 10.

This is a news report of the annual meeting of the Association of National Advertisers, a United States trade organization of an advertising "client" membership. The story summarizes the remarks of major speakers at meetings including (1) Leonard Marks, "former U.S. Information Agency director," who warned that "attacks on press freedom, promoted through UNESCO and other international agencies, will lead to more incidents like the recent crackdown on baby food advertising in Third World Nations," and (2) Lee Iacocca, chairman of the Chrysler Corporation, who proposed income tax write-offs for purchasers of domestic cars and a report on sales of fuel-efficient versus "big-car, gas-guzzler automobiles."

The article contains no mention of the World Freedom Press Committee by whom Marks is employed as counsel and secretary-treasurer. Marks reviewed the advertising references in the MacBride report and the "continuing struggle over freedom as a confrontation involving conflicting East-West views of the role of media in society. It has had beneficial results in the sense that it has raised the consciousness of editors and made them realize the aspirations of developing countries." He urges, "Until now publishers and broadcasters have carried the fight for press freedom and the voices of advertisers have not been very loud. The time has come...to make your views known to defend the vital role that industrial nations have played in the developing world and the assistance that their products have rendered in their economies."

3. "UN's Secret Ads" (an editorial under the "Editorial Viewpoint" page), Advertising Age, June 22, 1981, p. 16.

This brief, 300-word and 5-paragraph article comments on \$432,000 worth of "UN-prepared blurbs about the problems of Third World countries." Advertising Age complains the 15 major foreign newspapers, who were paid to print the advertisements, "to their disgrace these newspapers accepted the money and printed the blurbs without so much as marking them 'advertisement.'" The magazine refers to UNESCO as an organization "where leftists are promoting a licensing system that puts journalists under the thumb of the host country." There is no reference to the MacBride report or any of its advertising commentary. (There is no MacBride report reference on the editorial page of Advertising Age in any of the 100 issues examined.)

4. "Johnston Takes Over Helm of Four As," Advertising Age, April 13, 1981, p. 24.

This half-page story reports on the annual meeting of a trade association, the American Association of Advertising Agencies, and the remarks of its retiring chairman, Eugene H. Kummel, Chairman of McCann-Erickson Worldwide, a major advertising agency and subsidiary of Interpublic. Mr. Kummel saw three "major subjects" as needing attention: (1)"making our presence felt in Washington," (2)the image of advertising and (3)the "controversial" MacBride Commission report. Kummel commented on the report which views advertising as a "commercial mentality of which consumption becomes an end itself" but ignores the fact that "people everywhere want things that provide a more pleasant life." Reflecting on the report's commentary on "alien ethical values" and "cultural domination," Mr. Kummel called on the Four As to "realize

that 'more help is needed in combating the MacBride Commission's work because 'the task of education is bigger than before'."

The overall tone in Ad Age's reporting on UNESCO and the MacBride Commission report is less strident and demanding than the tone of Editor and Publisher's stories during the October 1979 to October 1981 period bracketing the October 1980 presentation of the report at UNESCO's General Conference in Belgrade.

Response of Public Relations Journal

This magazine is published monthly, except semi-monthly in July, by the Public Relations Society of America, Inc., New York, New York.

A subtitle proclaims the magazine is "serving public relations practitioners and educators and their managements." Regular indexed departments include Letters; an Editor's Notebook (some of its content represents editorial matter signed by the editor); People; Washington Focus, a summary of government, agency and regulatory news; Professional Services and Classified Advertising.

Article content includes trade success stories and how-to, industry standards and issues. It is a more traditional "magazine" in content and design than the other three major publications analyzed (which are newsmagazines--or trade newspapers in magazine format--in design). An average issue contains 40-80 pages.

In a sampling of five issues of Public Relations Journal, only four of 42 stories were "international" in content as compared with other major stories in those issues. Table V on the next page presents a summary of this analysis of the content of Public Relations Journal.

TABLE V
INTERNATIONAL CONTENT IN PUBLIC RELATIONS JOURNAL

Issue	International Stories	Indexed Major Stories
March 1979	0 of	6
October 1979	3 of	8
April 1980	1 of	11
May 1982	0 of	8
March 1982	0 of	9
Total	4 of	42

In the 22 issues of Public Relations Journal published in the October 1979 to October 1981 period, there were no news stories or editorials, whatsoever, concerning the MacBride Commission report or UNESCO.

Response of Broadcasting

This weekly publication of the radio-television industry ran only eleven UNESCO/MacBride stories in the 102 issues published between October 1979 and October 1981.

Broadcasting is published 51 Mondays per year by Broadcasting Publications, Washington, D.C. Established in 1931, the magazine is sub-titled "The Newsweekly of the Fifth Estate." It reports on government regulation and agencies, industry news and finance, radio and television programming. Regular indexed departments include Advertising and Marketing; Business Briefly; Cable; Editorial; Journalism; Law and Regulation; the Media; Stock Index; "people" columns; etc. Issues range in size from 90 to 135 pages. The display and classified advertising is industry-related.

This magazine's content focuses on radio and television in the United States and has little coverage of international news. For example, a sampling of six issues of Broadcasting provided only two (of 94 major stories) "international" articles. Table VI on the next page represents a comparison by issues.

During the 24-month period bracketing the October 1980 presentation of the MacBride Commission report to the general conference in Belgrade, 102 issues of Broadcasting were published. During this time, the magazine published eleven stories concerning the MacBride Commission:

TABLE VI
INTERNATIONAL CONTENT IN BROADCASTING

Issue	International Stories	Major stories
December 1, 1981	0 of	13
August 10, 1981	0 of	15
September 14, 1981	0 of	15
December 21, 1981	1 of	16
November 9, 1981	0 of	17
March 8, 1982	1 of	18
Total	2 of	94

1. "Marks and Beebe Urge Members of Free World Press to Stand Up for Journalists' Rights," Broadcasting, October 15, 1979.

Leonard Marks and George Beebe were featured speakers at this gathering of Western hemisphere broadcasters. Marks, described as "a former director fo the U.S. Information Agency and a Washington attorney," said "Protection of broadcast and press freedom begins with those who exercise them" and urged members of the media not simply to be "bystanders." He described Third World demands for a new world information order aimed at "redressing what they see as an imbalance in the international information system and pressures on free-press principles in both UNESCO and the upcoming World Administrative Conference."

George Beebe, identified as "associate publisher of the Miami Herald and retiring chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee," said UNESCO poses "problems" and warned that UNESCO allowed governmental "experts" at UNESCO input sessions but excluded media representatives. As an example he cited a UNESCO conference to be held in Washington where 35 government agencies will discuss ways to help the media in developing countries but "not one real media person has been invited."

2. "Fears Abate Somewhat Over MacBride Report," Broadcasting, September 15, 1980.

Leonard Marks and Howard Anderson of the Omaha World (and chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee) called on UNESCO director-general Amadou M'Bow in Paris and found him willing "to be flexible, although study of international flows of news remains basis for upcoming conference in Belgrade." The story also ack-

nowledged the provision by the U.S. publishers and broadcasters of printing presses and broadcast equipment to Third World countries.

3. "4A's Matthews Sees Hidden Traps in UNESCO Paper," Broadcasting, September 15, 1980.

Leonard Matthews, president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, made an "extensive analysis of the MacBride report in a speech to New York business press editors." He discussed the report's comments on "curbs on freedom," human rights, government "supervision," national communications policies, preferences for non-commercial forms of communication, "market and commercial effects."

4. "Mulling over the MacBride Report," Broadcasting, September 29, 1980.

A panel including Leonard Marks, an Associated Press executive, and an India Information officer for the United Nations, discussed the "controversial recommendations" of the MacBride report, and Sean MacBride made comments via two-way telephone in Ireland to this national meeting of Sigma Delta Chi, the Society of Professional Journalists. The Associated Press executive reported his news agency makes "less than 1% of AP's income" from Third World countries but "spends 20 times that much in covering the Third World."

5. "Controversy over Press Issues at UNESCO Continues," Broadcasting, October 20, 1980.

Leonard Marks, "former director of the U.S. Information Agency who is now Secretary of the World Press Freedom Committee and is serving as a U.S. delegate to the Belgrade conference," said the atmosphere at the conference is "much more restricted" than at previous UNESCO sessions on press issues, but Elie Abel of the U.S. delegation called on UNESCO to quit trying to be "an international nanny." Marks pre-

dicted the resolutions for actions will become 10 regional seminars in different parts of the world dedicated to further study of the issues.

6. "Split Decision on UNESCO," Broadcasting, November 3, 1980.

This one-page article is subtitled "Press is Generally Gloomy about Belgrade Outcome, But State Department Holds Out Hope for Happy Ending." A state department official views the conference as "largely a success in which our basic objectives were achieved." The major government spokesperson is Sarah Power, deputy assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs.

7. "A Call to Arms in the Fight for World Press Freedom," Broadcasting, March 16, 1981.

A question and answer interview with Marks reviews the activities of UNESCO and the World Press Freedom Committee. He urges broadcasters to support the press in WPFC activities.

8. "News Groups Write Bill of Rights for Press Freedom," Broadcasting, May 25, 1981.

One hundred journalists from 20 countries met in the French Alps to affirm press freedom as "a basic human right" and urged UNESCO to "abandon attempts to regulate news content and formulate news for the press." The document generated by this conference was called The Declaration of Talloires.

9. "Government Takes Get-tough Stance with UNESCO on Press Restrictions," Broadcasting, June 15, 1981.

This half-page article is subtitled "administration says U.S. will stand fast in its opposition to plans to license journalists" but "did not clearly state that the U.S. would pull out of UNESCO if it adopts proposals sanctioning the licensing of journalists and creating a code of ethics for them."

10. "Senate Wants Cutback of UNESCO Funds," Broadcasting, June 22, 1981.

This article is sub-titled "Actions to Protest UN Efforts to License Journalists, Would Reduce U.S. Contributions by 25%." The foreign affairs subcommittee of the Senate is reported to be preparing a resolution, attached to an appropriate bill, to restrict funds as a way to signal that it "does not want U.S. dollars to flow into UNESCO efforts to license journalists or restrict the flow of information among countries." The resolution was introduced by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY). The article also reports that it is "ominous for the U.S. and its allies" that a Norwegian chairman has been elected by the 35-nation council set up to administer UNESCO's new International Program for Communications Development. (The IPCD was originally proposed by the United States as a way to help Third World countries in their information needs).

11. "Rhetorical Backlash to UNESCO Threats on Press Freedom," Broadcasting, July 13, 1981.

This article described discussions of two U.S. House of Representatives subcommittees about the New World Information Order and the Declaration of Talloires. The article is subtitled "House Subcommittees Stage Hearings Calculated to Send Messages Abroad: Stay Out of Press Regulations or Face Prospect of Retaliation by U.S." Both committees are reported as supporting the Declaration of Talloires and supported the 99-0 vote for the U.S. Senate that the U.S. contribution to UNESCO should be reduced to the extent to which funds are used to support efforts to restrict the free flow of freedom.

This article mentions that Philip H. Power, the Ohio-Michigan publisher who is an outspoken member of the board of the World Press Freedom Committee, is married to Sarah Power, deputy assistant secretary of State for International Organization affairs, a major United States government spokesperson about UNESCO, the Belgrade Conference and the MacBride report. Philip Power was the witness to the House committee who "suggested" the withholding-of-funds proposal to the House subcommittee.

The overall tone in Broadcasting's reporting of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission is objective and tends to report "both sides" of issues more than Editor and Publisher.

Much of Broadcasting's coverage seems to originate with press releases from the World Press Freedom Committee--for example, Leonard Marks and George Beebe and Philip Power are the major sources quoted in seven of the 11 articles in Broadcasting during the October 1979-October 1981 period.

The last page in each issue of Broadcasting is an editorial page and usually contains three editorials about three different subjects. In 24 months, the magazine quoted more than sixty editorials, many of which were concerned with the United States regulatory agencies or the political issues of the industry; none of these editorials concerned UNESCO or the MacBride Commission report.

article XI of the version drawn up by Amadou M'Bow, Director-general, UNESCO..."

So the MacBride Commission someday may be scarcely remembered as just one event in a long and tumultuous international debate. On the other hand, Third World countries may--one day--celebrate the UNESCO report as the vehicle which helped equalize access to information and technology, enlarged the international flow of news and brought trans-nationals and the "have" nations to a new understanding of the group interest inherent in world peace and healthy technology. Third World nations may see the report as a new threshold in human development like the works of Plato and Aristotle, the King James Bible, the music of Beethoven, the United States Declaration of Independence or the United Nations Charter.

Specific Conclusions

1. Hypothesis: the four journals would reflect primarily the specific ways the report might affect that function--press, advertising, broadcasting, public relations--in the United States and as viewed primarily from the economic system of the United States.

This was confirmed by three of the journals. There were 82 or more recommendations/issues discussed in the final MacBride report, but (1)Editor and Publisher focused its coverage to freedom of the press, licensing of journalists (which is neither discussed or proposed in the final report), the coverage of the Third World by news agencies and news access for journalists; (2)Advertising Age predictably covered

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The MacBride report is a seminal, historic work.

For the first time an international body--other than scholarly, professional or technical groups--has studied the totality of implications of new communication and information technologies.

In addition, the MacBride Commission has acknowledged the balances and inequities of ownership and control of new communications/information vehicles. They used the context of the new and emerging economic order of both transnationals and developing countries. They addressed the cultural implications of a worldwide, homogenizing mass media and the potential and power of new communications/information systems.

So far the United States communications and political communities have paid scant attention to the UNESCO commission and the totality of the issues involved.

Someday, Third World nations may celebrate the MacBride Commission report as an event which began an historic process of enlightenment and created new systems of economic, cultural and communications cooperation. The report seriously suggests to the "haves" the economic advantages of sharing new communication / information know-how with the "have-not" nations.

The MacBride report may be a vehicle wherein the East and West begin to discuss cultural and economic cooperation as an alternative to nuclear armament. The report may help spotlight the wastefulness of Third World countries playing off East against West and vice versa.

If nothing more, the MacBride Commission has provided a forum beyond bitterness and introduces to a new age the idea that group self-

interest may be more valuable than national self-interest.

Rosemary Righter, a British journalist who has been writing--with reason and vision--about the UNESCO communications discussions for several years, suggests the positive nature of the 1972-79 UNESCO discussions in her 1979 article in Journal of Communications titled "Who Won?" in which she says:

The Declaration on Media, finally endorsed with sighs of relief in November 1978 by UNESCO's 146 member states, is a masterful exercise in squaring the circle. Because the text, arrived at after eight years of increasingly acrimonious debate and a month's intensive negotiations, emphasizes human rights, repudiates the concept of state control of the media, and asserts that "journalists must have freedom to report and the fullest possible access to information," it has been interpreted as a victory for Western and Third World countries which support the principle of a free press. So in a sense, it is. There was a clear threat to that principle in previous drafts of the declaration and it has largely been removed.

But any such conclusion misses the point. First, nobody "won." The principle to be derived from the existence of the draft is that by papering over the basic dichotomy between those who think of media as vehicles for free debate and diverse sources of information, and those who view them as tools of state policy, it may clear the ground for constructive debate about the genuine problem of international news flow.

These Righter remarks address the state of UNESCO discussions after the November 1978 meeting in Paris, and perhaps that meeting ended the destructive quarrel between First, Second and Third Worlds, making it possible for the MacBride Commission report to be a new and enlightened beginning. Righter points out that the 1978 declaration had no trace of the "celebrated article XII of the draft presented at the Nairobi conference two years ago, which said that states are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction." She also adds "gone, too, is the essentially sinister

the definition and brief discussion of advertising in the report; and (3) Broadcasting echoed the freedom of the press concern of Editor and Publisher and made occasional comments about help of press and broadcast equipment and know-how to Third World countries via the World Press Freedom Committee.

The fourth journal, Public Relations Journal, did not discuss UNESCO or the MacBride Commission at all. Failure to acknowledge or discuss this international debate is a very strong statement about the self-interest and narrow focus of this publication.

2. Hypothesis: these four major journals would tend to ignore the major worldwide issues of the UNESCO MacBride Commission.

Public Relations Journal, of course, did not discuss the report or the issues at all.

The other three journals reflected the freedom of the press issue as they define it--the current status quo of ownership, non-regulation of the press under their views of the First Amendment, total freedom of access and travel for U.S. journalists within the boundaries of other countries.

The journals did not acknowledge or discuss the other massive international issues defined and spotlighted by the report.

3. Hypothesis: the journals would react in similar ways.

This was not confirmed. They reacted in different ways; i.e., Editor and Publisher maintained a constant, rather shrill focus with editorial and news coverage on UNESCO and the Commission until and somewhat beyond the October 1981 Belgrade meeting, while Broadcasting

took a middle ground with occasional news coverage but no editorials and Advertising Age gave limited attention (but some of the advertising spokesmen had hard comments). Public Relations Journal reacted by a total non-reaction.

The three major journals with MacBride coverage all reflected the news, attitudes and commentary of spokespersons from the World Press Freedom Committee.

Some Issues for Future Study

In addition to analysis of the four major U.S. communications publications, background study included (a) several United States newspapers, (b) other magazines and journals (Journal of Communication has provided very balanced commentaries) and (c) a number of UNESCO and other books concerned with the cultural, economic and political factors of developing nations. From total readings and study of the MacBride Commission, these issues--deserving of future study--emerge:

(1) The World Press Freedom Committee shaped much of the attitude of the United States press toward UNESCO and the MacBride Commission report. Has this one-issue organization shifted American attention from the multiple international communications issues discussed by the MacBride Commission to an adversary, knee-jerk stance about Western concepts of press privilege and freedom?

(2) Has the United States press used its power of the press for its own advocacy journalism against UNESCO to protect its own self-interest and heavily corporate status quo? Is this comment by Soviets Elena Androunos and Yassen Zassoursky in the Spring 1979 issue of

Journal of Communication an appropriate description of the present state of affairs in America?

When the Mass Media Declaration was first introduced at Nairobi in 1972, United States media reacted with irritation at the fact that UNESCO was discussing any possibility of any regulation of the "flow of information," even within a country's own borders. They took the position of "defenders of freedom" but in fact what they were advocating was the political, economic and ideological interests of big business which controlled the media and indeed, if the press or the government held any official position other than one favoring a laissez-faire approach to the flow of information, they would appear to be compromising the basic principles and practices of American democracy and would run head-on into conflict with powerful private interests.

(3) In the late nineteenth century, the enlarging geographical scope of industry prompted the need for controls beyond state government toward interstate regulation by the federal government of the United States. Is the world at a time, today, when attention toward transnational corporations should move beyond national controls by individual countries toward some kind of universal regulation or reporting system for transnationals?

(4) Have the advocacy efforts of the World Press Freedom Committee, American Newspaper Publishers Association, Inter-American Press Association, et al, to protect the Western concept of press freedoms forced UNESCO debates which led to a balanced and workable worldwide plan for cooperation against mutual problems--just as the Soviets' 1972 efforts toward a UNESCO discussion of mass media eventually evolved into the appointment of the MacBride Commission?

(5) Is the American concept of "many voices" which existed at the time the First Amendment was written in real danger? Is an increasingly small number of persons and institutions with increasing tentacles into

the United States government and power networks controlling the mass media of the United States--and hence the First World and much of the rest of the world? For example, a contemporary communications prophet named Ted Turner was quoted in the June 1982 issue of Penthouse magazine (p. 82):

When the television stations were given out thirty years ago--and the three networks were given free of charge, those stations in the major markets--a proviso of the charter stated that the networks should serve the public interest. If it can be proven that they have not served the public interest, then they should be stripped of those licenses. I think an investigation would show that they have not served the public interest.

I think television has had a tremendous effect on America's basic values because so many people spend so much time watching the idiot box and I think the networks have been irresponsible with the great control they have over the minds of American people.

Until I came along, everybody was afraid to speak out against the networks. Even the president of the United States and the presidential candidates live in terror of the way the networks report their activities and everything. The networks are among the most powerful institutions in the land, and they have been almost above criticism. There's almost no way to fight them except by being in the television business.

Are Turner's comments applicable to control and management of our mass media systems today? Is it time to rethink the alternatives? Is the MacBride Commission report a beginning?

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